128 I am using the concept "medicine" in the sense used by the Pangwe /Ed., the author uses Pangwe [Fang] as the name for a group of tribes in which the Fang are one tribe; the others are the Eton, Mwele [Mvele], Jaunde [Yaunde], Bene [Bane], Bulu, Ntum, Mwai [Mvae], and Mokuk (Oschüeba)/, who have a much broader conception of it than we do and unite under the term biǎn, "medicine," various things which we are accustomed to separate, namely, charms, means for bringing luck and avoiding misfortune, remedies for cult sicknesses, and healing remedies in our sense of the term. In addition, I shall include the food taboos (ekī).

759 The knowledge of medicines is fairly widespread among the Pangwe. Each Pangwe man -- and /144/ even each Pangwe woman -- is familiar with half a dozen or at least a few. However, only a person who is an extraordinarily good observer, who does not stay at home as does the average Pangwe, and who has gained experience and knowledge is designated as a medicine man, ngěngǎ'n I. As was observed in an earlier section /Ed., Vol. I, Section 8/, extreme specialization of all knowledge and skills is found among the Pangwe. This is no less the case with medicines. One man may be familiar with cult medicines, another with ewu medicines; others specialize in the opening of corpses for the detection of ewu, still others specialize in skin diseases, etc. Within these areas specialization goes still farther. Individual medicine men may be specialists for a particular disease (e.g., leprosy) or for a particular method of treating this disease. Such a specialist is called ongěngǎ'n. He is frequently sought from a great distance by patients who do not have a specialist for their case or one of sufficient repute in their own villages.

424 759 461 Medical knowledge is not guarded as a legacy in certain families, but is the property of individuals and is imparted to others by the expert in return for cash payment. This is a business deal of such great importance that a father seldom or never instructs his own son in medical knowledge, as he could not accept much payment from him -- particularly since it is in a sense a matter of his own money -- and he would not do it for nothing

CHAPTER 6

THE BETI AND THE PAHOUIN

THE BETI OR BATI

128 /Pp. 1-56 not translated/ In the introductory section devoted to the peopling of the area, we have spoken of the Beti, or Bati, who certainly comprised a large group with many branches. They have been subject to many upheavals and, consequently, it is impossible to determine which of them have remained pure Beti and which—according to G. Tessmann's expression—have become "Pahouinized," and to what extent they have become "Pahouinized." Therefore, we will first devote a short paragraph to the Beti, and then another to the Pahouin /Pahuin/.

In the discussion which follows we will speak first of the populations which the authors have grouped under the name of Beti, and then, imperceptibly, we will move on to the Pahouin, but we are not able to decide exactly where the dividing line should be placed.

173 131 It is certain that the various branches of the Beti, or Bati, spread over a large area. According to the oral traditions of a number of these peoples, their original habitat was north of the Sanaga River, and near its tributary the Mbam /M'Bam/. /Map 1/ A tiny group of these Bati remained there, and they may still be found southwest of Bafia, on the right bank of the Lihoua, a tributary of the Sanaga. Their little territory of barely 20 square kilometers is wedged in between the Yambasa /Yambassa/ in the east, the Lemande in the north, [161] and the Baso in the west and to the south. There are only 800 persons altogether in the villages of Keleng (on the route from Bafia to Ngambe) and the hamlets of Mpouke and Nyambat.

167 Others of the Beti remained north of the Sanaga and divided into a scattering of small groups; when the Germans found them they had not united /58/ and were still migrating. They did not become settled until the Babute had been pushed back to their former habitat by the new occupants.

192 Maka-Ngumba, from Jem-Dzimu, and from coastal Bantu. The European contributions would come more from Coast English for Ewôndo and Boulou, from Portuguese "sabir"* for Fang, but Coast

[198] /* A mixture of Arabic, French, Italian, Spanish, etc., used in the Levant and Africa. —Tr./

English is increasing its influence on the whole group, as French is doing. The Abbé Walker mentions Arabic influences, but the only authentic examples are extremely rare: I only know of banga (Indian hemp) and arki (alcohol).

3. Characteristics of the Language

193 Sentence structure follows the order: subject, verb, attributive complement, objective complement.

Thus: M'aboté évet zel = I moisten chief beard (I grease the chief's palm).

The qualifier, adverb or epithet, is usually but not always placed before the word modified:

abeñ minga = pretty woman; mbia môt = wicked man; ôbe anen = rather large; but

anen abui = very large; bôte bela = three people.

192 Trilles, in Totemism among the Fang (no. 166) (1), estimates

[128] 1. The numbers inside parentheses refer to corresponding numbers in the Bibliography, p. 179.

the vocabulary at 18, 000 words, undoubtedly counting as separate words certain derivatives, especially verbal inflections, which could as well be classed with the radical form, as to Bates and Good; they obtained a Boulou vocabulary of about 7, 000 words, which is far from being complete. The correct number must be near 10, 000 to 12, 000 at least. While the language has been enriched by European and non-Pahouin African loan words, it appears at the same time to have been impoverished by the loss of certain nuances of meaning, of technical or religious terms, of older literary or poetical figures

however, since traces of it can be recognized in the contemporary movement for Pahouin Regrouping represented in the Cameroons by the U. T. N. K. party (N'Tem Kribi Tribal Union). Such /theoretical/ constructs are still rather risky in our present state of knowledge, and it is better to limit ourselves to a pure and simple description, resorting as little as possible to interpretation, which in any case should be done with hesitancy.

I shall therefore limit myself here to the attempt to perceive Pahouin society on three essential structural levels, while emphasizing again the necessarily arbitrary and incomplete nature of such a proceeding.

These three levels are the most easily perceptible to the European observer and at the same time the most significant, apparently, in the eyes of the Pahouin themselves. These are, what I shall call, for lack of anything better and because they are the terms particularly retained by the administration, the tribe, the clan, and the extended family or village family. Something will also have to be said about intermediate structures such as lineages, segments /fractions/, and village groups, and a little more on the subject of the household or limited family, whose importance is increasing. /44/

a. The Tribe

I designate as "tribe" what Trilles calls "group," while he keeps the term "tribe"—as do many observers in Gabon—for what I call "clan." This is because in southern Gabon there is only one "tribe" in the sense I understand, that of the true Fang, or Fang-Fang as Spanish writers call them.

I know of no Pahouin word specifically denoting tribe, Trilles uses the expression mfulane meyoñ, that is, "all of the clans together." In fact, and this is no doubt significant, the term most commonly used is ayoñ, which also denotes what I call clan. Mfulane meyoñ is used particularly when there is occasion to specify that one is referring to a higher structural level, sometimes also referred to as ngum ayoñ, "the clan as a whole," or meyoñ mese, "all the clans." (1) Nevertheless, the tribe is indeed a reality, in spite of this

1. American translators of the Bible have used ayoñ for "people" as well as for "tribe" and "realm."